

## Message Text

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O R 301925Z MAY 74

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9546

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 PARIS 13245

CINCEUR FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, FR

SUBJECT: GISCARD'S GOVERNMENT: PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT

REF: PARIS 12975 (NOTAL) AND 13007

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1. SUMMARY. GISCARD'S SMALL AND HAND-PICKED CABINET IS

A CURIOUS MIXTURE OF TECHNICIANS, MAJOR POLITICAL LEADERS OF HIS OWN PARTY AND OF THE CENTER REFORMISTS, AND LITTLE-KNOWN GAULLISTS. THE UDR "BARONS" HAVE DISAPPEARED FROM THE GOF, PROBABLY FOR GOOD. MAJOR SURPRISES INCLUDE THE CHOICE OF A CAREER DIPLOMAT, AMBASSADOR TO WEST GERMANY JEAN SAUVAGNARGUES, AS FOREIGN MINISTER AND THE INCLUSION OF ALL FOUR OF FRANCE'S LEADING CENTRIST POLITICIANS. GISCARD HAS SHIFTED THE CENTER OF GRAVITY OF GOF DECIDEDLY TO THE CENTER. NEW GOVERNMENT REFLECTS HIS COMMITMENT TO CHANGE AND SIGNALS AN END TO THE GAULLIST PERIOD. IT IS CLEAR THAT GISCARD INTENDS TO DOMINATE THE GOF. HE HAS GONE EVEN FURTHER THAN POMPIDOU IN CONTROLLING AND CENTRALIZING HIS GOVERNMENT. IN MAY 29 TV ADDRESS ON COMPOSITION OF CABINET, AS IN FIRST CABINET MEETING, PRESIDENT PROJECTED TECHNOCRATIC IMAGE OF EFFICIENCY, SPEED AND SERIOUSNESS -- BUT BASED ON A LIBERAL TRADITION. ODD CABINET LINEUP STRIKES US AS POSSIBLY TRANSITORY AND COULD BE RESHUFFLED EARLY -- EVEN BEFORE END OF YEAR. WE WOULD EXPECT, HOWEVER, KEY MINISTERS OF INTERIOR, FOREIGN AFFAIRS, ECONOMY AND FINANCE, AND DEFENSE TO REMAIN IN PLACE FOR SOME TIME. END SUMMARY.

2. WHILE GISCARD SAID HE CONSULTED WITH CHIRAC AND PONIATOWSKI, THE CABINET SELECTIONS APPEAR TO BE THE PRESIDENT'S OWN. THE DRAMATIC ABSENCE OF EVERY GAULLIST BARON MARKS THE DISAPPEARANCE -- FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE FIFTH REPUBLIC -- OF THE UDR OLD GUARD FROM THE GOF. FOLLOWING CHABAN-DELMAS' STRIKING DEFEAT IN THE PRESIDENTIALELECTION, THIS WILL MAKE THE GAULLIST OLD GUARD LESS INFLUENTIAL, ALTHOUGH THEY CONTROL THE LARGEST SINGLE BLOC OF SEATS IN THE ASSEMBLY. BARRING UNSCHEDULED LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS, GISCARD WILL HAVE TO RELY ON GAULLIST VOTES FOR THE NEXT FOUR YEARS, AND THIS WILL LIMIT TO SOME EXTENT HIS FREEDOM OF ACTION.

3. BY PUTTING TECHNICIANS AT THE HEAD OF MINISTRIES OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AND ECONOMY AND FINANCE, GISCARD MADE CLEAR THAT HE WILL CONTINUE THE TRADITION OF DE GAULLE  
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AND POMPIDOU BY KEEPING FOREIGN AND ECONOMIC POLICY REINS IN HIS OWN HANDS, AND THAT HE INTENDS TO GO EVEN FURTHER THAN POMPIDOU IN CLOSELY CONTROLLING AND CENTRALIZING THOSE KEY MINISTRIES WHICH HAVE IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL POLICY DECISIONS TO TAKE.

4. GISCARD BROUGHT IN ONLY THREE MINISTERS OF THE MESSMER GOVERNMENT: CHIRAC, PONIATOWSKI AND GALLEY.

AMONG THE 13 NEW MINISTERS, NINE ARE PARLIAMENTARIANS:  
LECANUET, SOUFFLET, SERVAN-SCHREIBER, ABELIN, JARROT,  
DURAFOUR, D'ORNANO, ANSQUER AND BONNET. REMAINING FOUR  
ARE NON-POLITICAL FIGURES: FOURCADE, HABY, SAUVAGNARGUES  
AND VEIL.

5. POLITICALLY THE GISCARD TEAM IS COMPOSED OF FOUR  
CENTER REFORMISTS (LECANUET, SERVAN-SCHREIBER, ABELIN,  
DURAFOUR); FIVE GAULLISTS (CHIRAC, SOUFFLET, GALLEY,  
JARROT, ANSQUER); AND THREE INDEPENDENT REPUBLICANS  
(PONIATOWSKI, BONNET AND D'ORNANO). THE GAULLISTS ARE  
MOSTLY "PALEO-GAULLISTS," NOT THOSE WHO ESPOUSED  
GAULLISM TO FURTHER A CAREER (CHIRAC IS AN EXCEPTION).

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THREE ARE LIBERATION "COMPANIONS." IN APPOINTING SUCH MEN, GISCARD MAY BE ATTEMPTING TO APPEAL OVER THE HEADS OF THE UDR HIERARCHY TO THE GAULLIST RANK AND FILE. THE SMALL NUMBER OF IR POLITICIANS IS INDICATIVE BOTH OF GISCARD'S CAUTION IN TRYING TO CONCILIATE ALL  
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PARTS OF THE PRESIDENTIAL MAJORITY AND THE RELATIVE PAUCITY OF TALENT WITHIN THE IR GROUP. GISCARD MAY ALSO HAVE WISHED TO AVOID NAMING TOO MANY MINISTERS FROM WHAT IS, AFTER ALL, THE SMALLEST PARLIAMENTARY GROUP IN HIS NEW MAJORITY.

6. FOR ALL GISCARD'S CAMPAIGN TALK OF YOUTH, HIS CABINET AVERAGES MORE THAN 52 YEARS OF AGE AND, IN FACT, IS THE OLDEST GOVERNMENT FRANCE HAS KNOWN SINCE 1969. CHABAN-DELMAS' GOVERNMENT AND ALL THREE MESSMER GOVERNMENTS WERE SLIGHTLY YOUNGER ON THE AVERAGE. BUT GISCARD CAN GIVE A MORE YOUTHFUL IMAGE WITH HIS APPOINTMENTS OF SECRETARIES OF STATE, TO BE ANNOUNCED AT END OF NEXT WEEK. FURTHER, PRIME MINISTER CHIRAC AS THE YOUNGEST MEMBER OF THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD REINFORCE THE IMPRESSION OF YOUTH.

7. ONE EXTREMELY WELL-INFORMED SOURCE HAS SUGGESTED TO US THAT SOME MAJOR GAULLISTS WERE OFFERED POSTS BUT REFUSED, FEELING THAT FOR ANY OF THEM TO SERVE IN GISCARD'S GOVERNMENT WOULD SPLIT THE UDR. WE UNDERSTAND ALSO THAT FORMER SOCIALIST MINISTER MAX LEJEUNE TURNED DOWN MINISTRY OF COOPERATION AND THAT SENIOR SENATE VICE PRESIDENT ETIENNE DAILLY ALSO REJECTED A MINISTRY. THESE REPORTS, IF CORRECT, SUGGEST THAT GISCARD'S NEW CABINET REPRESENTS SOMETHING LESS THAN HIS PREFERRED CHOICES. THEY ALSO SUGGEST THAT GISCARD IS SERIOUSLY TRYING TO BUILD HIS NEW MAJORITY ON THE BROADEST POSSIBLE POLITICAL BASE.

8. PONIATOWSKI IS NUMBER ONE. PONIATOWSKI, AS EXPECTED, WAS NAMED MINISTER OF INTERIOR, AND WAS THE ONLY MINISTER TO RECEIVE THE PRESTIGIOUS TITLE OF "MINISTER

OF STATE" -- LEAVING NO DOUBT THAT HE IS FIRST IN RANK AS WELL AS IN INFLUENCE AMONG THE FIFTEEN MINISTERS. HIS RESPONSIBILITIES WILL INCLUDE TERRITORIAL DEVELOPMENT, WHICH COULD HELP MODIFY THE "POLICE" IMAGE THAT INTERIOR MINISTRY HAS HAD IN THE PAST.

9. REFORMISTS' ROLE. IN GIVING MINISTRIES TO THE FOUR MAJOR CENTER REFORMIST POLITICIANS, GISCARD HAS SHIFTED  
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THE CENTER OF GRAVITY OF THE GOF FURTHER TOWARDS THE CENTER-LEFT THAN IT HAS BEEN SINCE FOURTH REPUBLIC DAYS. JEAN LECANUET, WHOSE EARLY SUPPORT FOR GISCARD WAS A FACTOR IN LATTER'S SUCCESS, BECOMES MINISTER OF JUSTICE AS EXPECTED. SERVAN-SCHREIBER (JJSS), WHO ONLY SUPPORTED GISCARD AT THE LAST MINUTE, WAS REWARDED WITH THE MINISTRY OF REFORMS. IT IS NOT ENTIRELY CLEAR YET EXACTLY WHAT ARE THE BOUNDARIES OF JJSS'S PORTFOLIO. AS EXAMPLES OF HIS RESPONSIBILITIES, GISCARD SAID HE WILL BE CHARGED WITH DEVELOPING PROGRAMS FOR REGIONAL, FISCAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS, AND THUS HIS PORTFOLIO WILL APPARENTLY HAVE AN INTER-MINISTERIAL CHARACTER WHICH COULD BRING JJSS INTO CONFLICT WITH OTHER CABINET MEMBERS. IT ALSO REMAINS TO BE SEEN HOW JJSS, WITH HIS HOSTILITY TOWARD GOF POSITIONS ON SUCH ISSUES AS NUCLEAR TESTING AND THE CONCORDE, WILL FIT INTO THE GISCARD GOVERNMENT. PIERRE ABELIN, AT 65 THE OLDEST MEMBER OF GISCARD'S TEAM, RECEIVED THE MINISTRY OF COOPERATION FOR HIS ROLE IN PERSUADING THE CENTER DEMOCRATS TO SUPPORT GISCARD. AND MICHEL DURAFOUR, PRESIDENT OF THE REFORMER GROUP IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, BECOMES MINISTER OF LABOR.

10. GISCARD'S RELATIONSHIP WITH JJSS. ONE RELIABLE SOURCE REPORTS THAT GISCARD FELT A GENUINE SENSE OF GRATITUDE FOR JJSS'S SUPPORT -- EVEN THOUGH IT CAME LATE -- AND DECIDED TO OFFER HIM A MINISTRY. GISCARD HAS ALWAYS LIKED JJSS, AND JJSS HAS NEVER ATTACKED GISCARD PERSONALLY. GISCARD IS ALSO ATTRACTED TO JJSS'S YOUNG, DYNAMIC IMAGE. JJSS, WE ARE TOLD, DELIBERATED LONG AND HARD BEFORE DECIDING TO ACCEPT. HIS APPOINTMENT REPORTEDLY MADE LECANUET ALMOST AS FURIOUS AS IT MADE THE GAULLISTS.

11. DEFENSE: A SURPRISE. A SURPRISING CHOICE FOR DEFENSE MINISTER IS JACQUES SOUFFLET, INDUSTRIALIST, OLD-STYLE GAULLIST, SENATOR FROM YVELINES

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AND ONE OF SEVERAL VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE SENATE. WE  
HAVE IT ON GOOD AUTHORITY THAT SOUFFLET -- WHO IS CLOSE  
FRIEND OF MESSMER AND GALLEY -- ACCEPTED BEFORE HE KNEW  
WHO OTHER CABINET MEMBERS WOULD BE, AND CONSIDERED  
BACKING OUT AFTER HE LEARNED THAT GOVERNMENT WOULD  
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INCLUDE SERVAN-SCHREIBER. FORMER ARMED FORCES MINISTER ROBERT GALLEY, WHO SOME THOUGHT HAD A GOOD CHANCE AT THE PRIME MINISTERSHIP, MOVES TO THE LESS PRESTIGIOUS BUT DOMESTICALLY IMPORTANT MINISTRY OF EQUIPMENT (INFRASTRUCTURE, PUBLIC WORKS) -- A POST HE ONCE HELD BRIEFLY IN 1968 DURING THE FIFTH POMPIDOU CABINET.

12. FOREIGN MINISTER: ANOTHER SURPRISE. EVEN MORE SURPRISING IS GISCARD'S CHOICE OF A CAREER DIPLOMAT WITHOUT KNOWN POLITICAL ATTACHMENTS, AMBASSADOR TO WEST GERMANY JEAN SAUVAGNARGUES, AS HIS FOREIGN MINISTER. DURING THE CAMPAIGN GISCARD PROMISED TO GIVE SPECIAL ATTENTION TO FRENCH-GERMAN RELATIONS, AND OBSERVERS SEE THE SAUVAGNARGUES APPOINTMENT AS PROOF THAT GISCARD, WORKING WITH SCHMIDT, INTENDS TO BASE HIS EUROPEAN POLICY ON A PARIS-BONN AXIS. CLEARLY THE FORMATION AND CONDUCT OF FOREIGN POLICY WILL REMAIN IN THE ELYSEE, WHERE IT HAS BEEN DURING THE ENTIRE FIFTH REPUBLIC.

13. MINISTER OF ECONOMY AND FINANCE: A CLOSE FRIEND. GISCARD CHOSE A LONG-TIME ASSOCIATE, JEAN-PIERRE FOURCADE, TO BE MINISTER OF ECONOMY AND FINANCE. APPARENTLY GISCARD DECIDED THAT, WITH HIS OWN MAN AT THE RUE DE RIVOLI, HE COULD EXERCISE SUFFICIENT CONTROL OVER THIS IMPORTANT ELEMENT OF NATIONAL POLICY WITHOUT BREAKING UP THE MINISTRY INTO SEPARATE MINISTRIES OF ECONOMY AND FINANCE, AS HAD REPORTEDLY BEEN CONSIDERED.

14. MINISTRY OF THE QUALITY OF LIFE: A FIRST. FRANCE MAY BE THE FIRST COUNTRY TO HAVE A MINISTRY OF THE QUALITY OF LIFE. THIS PORTFOLIO INCLUDES ENVIRONMENT, YOUTH, SPORTS, LEISURE ACTIVITIES AND TOURISM. THE MINISTER, ANDRE JARROT, MAY HAVE THE MOST UNORTHODOX BACKGROUND OF ANY OF GISCARD'S MINISTERS, SINCE HE STARRED AS A PRE-WORLD WAR II MOTORCYCLE RACER. HE WAS ALSO A RESISTANCE HERO.

15. FIRST WOMAN MINISTER IN FIFTH REPUBLIC. MAKING GOOD ON HIS CAMPAIGN PLEDGE TO BRING WOMEN INTO HIS GOVERNMENT, GISCARD APPOINTED CAREER CIVIL SERVANT SIMONE VEIL AS MINISTER OF HEALTH. HER HUSBAND IS  
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TREASURER OF THE CDP -- THAT PART OF THE CENTRIST MOVEMENT WHICH PARTICIPATED IN GOVERNMENTS UNDER POMPIDOU. THOUGH NONE OF ITS MEMBERS IS IN GISCARD'S

GOVERNMENT, MADAME VEIL REPRESENTS AT LEAST AN OBEISANCE TOWARD THE CDP.

16. THE ENERGY DELEGATION CREATED IN APRIL 1973 UNDER JEAN BLANCARD WILL BE ATTACHED TO D'ORNANO'S MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY. EDUCATION MINISTER HABY WILL APPARENTLY HAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ONLY, WITH AN AUTONOMOUS SECRETARIAT OF STATE BEING CREATED FOR HIGHER EDUCATION.

17. PARIS PRESS HAS GREETED CABINET WITH SURPRISE AND SOME SKEPTICISM. REALIZING THAT HIS CABINET LIST RAISED QUESTIONS, GISCARD WENT ON TELEVISION EVENING OF MAY 29 TO COMMENT ON THE COMPOSITION OF HIS GOVERNMENT. HE BRIEFLY EXPLAINED FUNCTIONS OF MINISTRIES AND GAVE SKETCH OF EACH MINISTER. HE INDICATED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WILL INCLUDE AUTONOMOUS SECRETARIES OF STATE FOR CULTURAL AFFAIRS, POST AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS, VETERANS AFFAIRS, TRANSPORT AND FOREIGN TRADE. SECRETARIES OF STATE ATTACHED TO THE PRIME MINISTER WILL INCLUDE PARLIAMENTARY RELATIONS, WOMEN'S AFFAIRS, AND THE GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN. A SECRETARY OF STATE ATTACHED TO THE MINISTER OF THE QUALITY OF LIFE WILL BE CHARGED WITH PROBLEMS OF YOUTH AND SPORTS, WHILE A SECRETARY OF STATE ATTACHED TO THE MINISTER OF ECONOMY AND FINANCE WILL BE CHARGED WITH THE BUDGET.

18. A GOOD SOURCE CLOSE TO GISCARD TELLS US THAT THE NEW PRESIDENT PLANS SOME SPECTACULAR MOVES IN THE AREA OF SOCIAL REFORM --WHICH COULD INCLUDE LOWERING THE VOTING AGE TO 18 (GISCARD WENT ON RECORD DURING THE CAMPAIGN AS FAVORING A REDUCTION FROM 21 TO 19), AND REDUCING THE TERM OF MILITARY SERVICE TO SIX MONTHS.

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HE WILL FIND IT HARDER, HOWEVER, TO TACKLE INFLATION  
(APRIL RATE WAS 1.6 PERCENT) AND RELATED ECONOMIC  
PROBLEMS, AND APPARENTLY HAS NOT YET DECIDED WHAT MOVES  
TO MAKE IN THIS AREA.

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19. GISCARD'S NEW LIBERAL POLICIES WERE SUBJECT OF  
FIRST COUNCIL OF MINISTERS' MEETING MAY 29. FOLLOWING  
MEETING, PONIATOWSKI ANNOUNCED THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS  
ORDERED SUPPRESSION OF WIRETAPPING, INCREASED RIGHTS  
TO POLITICAL ASYLUM, AND HAS PROMISED NEVER TO IMPOUND  
NEWSPAPERS, EVEN IF THEY ATTACK HIM PERSONALLY. THUS  
PONIATOWSKI IS CONVEYING THE MESSAGE THAT GISCARD'S  
POLICIES -- TO BE EXECUTED WITH TECHNOCRATIC EFFICIENCY,  
SPEED AND SERIOUSNESS -- ARE SOLIDLY GROUNDED IN A  
LIBERAL TRADITION.

20. NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, IN RECESS SINCE POMPIDOU'S  
DEATH, WILL CONVENE AFTERNOON OF MAY 30 TO HEAR ASSEM-

BLY PRESIDENT FAURE READ MESSAGE FROM GISCARD. PRIME  
MINISTER CHIRAC WILL DELIVER GOVERNMENT POLICY STATE-  
MENT TO ASSEMBLY JUNE 5, AND WILL CALL FOR A CONFIDENCE  
VOTE.  
IRWIN

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## Message Attributes

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